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CENSUS OF THE *SHI'WANAKWE* SOCIETY OF ZUÑI

IN "Zuñi Kin and Clan"<sup>1</sup> Dr. Kroeber concludes that the connection between Zuñi clans and fraternities is slight, and, more particularly, that

it is blood relationship, and beyond this common home life, that most frequently determine choice of fraternity; not clan pertinence.

The conclusion was based largely on a determination of the fraternity affiliations of the Coyote and Tobacco clans and the clan affiliations of the *ne'wekwe* fraternity. A like conclusion may be reached from the following census of the *shi'wanakwe* fraternity taken in September, 1918.

Fraternity Name <sup>2</sup>	Personal Name <sup>3</sup>	Clan	Kin	Notes
1. Pihalapti . . . . .	Kashku	Corn		<i>mosona</i> , head of fraternity and <i>akwamosi</i> , medicine head
2. Lailuhtiwa . . . . .	Kuwaiti	Tobacco	Maternal uncle of 35	<i>pekwin</i> , speaker of fraternity
3. Tahuka . . . . .	Chakwen	Crane	Father of 11 and 23	
4. Yekusiti . . . . .	Yekusiti	Corn	Brother of 36, father-in-law of 5	
5. Ayawaluhti . . . . .	Koko	Crane	Son-in-law of 4, nephew by marriage of 36	
6. Kuitahtiwa . . . . .	Wa'shu	<i>Pikchikwe</i>	Maternal uncle of 34	
7. Tsastimani . . . . .	Tsawulutesi	Frog	Father of 44	
8. Tsatai'isiwa . . . . .	Tsatai'isiwa	Sun	Footnote 4	
9. Tayihukyalti . . . . .	Unknown. Known as son of Tsi-poyo	<i>Pikchikwe</i>		
10. Paiyuhtiwa . . . . .	Shalawi	Badger	Nephew of 11	Initiated for smallpox
11. Emanaitiwa . . . . .	I'tsayu'i	Badger	Son of 3, half-brother of 23. Maternal uncle of 10	Initiated in 1916 or 1917 because while he was herding sheep a dog talked like a person to him

<sup>1</sup> *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History*, vol. XVIII, pt. II, New York. 1917.

<sup>2</sup> Giving a fraternity name to an initiate is called *ikoshonakya*, "they wash one another." *tutatsi wokoshokya*, "priest washes them" refers to Catholic baptism (*tutatsi*, priest; *kosho*, wash or wash the body; *wo*, prefix denoting plurality of object). *awatenakya* is the term for the native hair washing rite.

<sup>3</sup> 1-25, 43, 47, 48 are men; 26-42, 44-46 are women. The informant, a member of the *shi'wanakwe*, observed this order. In classifying thus by sex, the irregularities at the close were after-thoughts of the informant.

<sup>4</sup> Two of his mother's sisters, now dead, were members.

Fraternity Name	Personal Name	Clan	Kin	Notes
12. Luhanatiwa . . .	We'tsi	Eagle	Maternal uncle of 45	Initiated for smallpox
13. Iwayuhtiwa . . .	I'hayichu	<i>Pikchikwe</i>	Son of 46	Initiated in 1912 because that winter in a <i>wo-temla</i> dance his mask fell off
14. Layatsilu . . . . .	Shuu'ta	Turkey	Son of 31, brother of 28	Transferred from <i>pechasi-lokwe</i> (Bed bug fraternity)
15. Yak'atiwa . . . . .	Meshiwan-nakwa <sup>1</sup>	Eagle	Brother-in-law of 26, his brother's wife	Initiated for smallpox
16. Piwuluhtiwa . . .	Elliya	Sun	Cousin by marriage of 20	Initiated for measles
17. Lawaitsaitsilu . .	Kwanpeleya	Sun	Maternal grandfather of 48	
18. Tsaiikusiwa . . . .	Likiyi	<i>Pikchikwe</i>		Initiated for smallpox
19. Laiishuktiwa . . .	Aiyatsa-tiwa	Turkey	Son of 39	Initiated for smallpox
20. Laiak'ahtiwa . . .	Kumaa	<i>Pikchikwe</i>	Cousin by marriage of 16	Initiated when very young
21. Laiuptahsiwa . .	Wistika	<i>Pikchikwe</i>	Younger brother of 24	Initiated for smallpox
22. Tsawaiyatiwa . .	Lemi	Eagle	Father of 25	Head of the rain priests of the East, <sup>2</sup> one of the 6 ranking priest-hoods
23. La'mitiwa . . . . .	Ky'etsini	<i>Pikchikwe</i>	Son of 3, half-brother of 11	Initiated for smallpox
24. Latsaikyiwa . . . .	Hui	<i>Pikchikwe</i>	Older brother of 21	Initiated for smallpox
25. Yai'ahtiwa . . . .	Luhsa'i	Coyote	Son of 22	Initiated for measles
26. Pewulasititsa . . .	Kuasias-witsa	<i>Pikchikwe</i>	Sister-in-law of 15	Initiated because several children, ten or twelve, were still-born.
27. Lantialuntsa . . .	Unknown. Known as Shumali's daughter or Shikya's wife	Turkey		Daughter of Okash, head of rainpriests of the South
28. Laiusitietsa . . . .	Unknown. Known as Shuu'ta's younger sister	Turkey	Daughter of 31, younger sister of 14	Initiated for smallpox

<sup>1</sup> His father was an "American." *me* > *melika*, American.

<sup>2</sup> Sometimes referred to as priests of the West, a confusion due, I think, to the fact that their ceremonial house is on the West side.

Fraternity Name	Personal Name	Clan	Kin	Notes
29. Waiyautitsa....	Unknown. Known as daughter of Tsiwakwe	Eagle	Tsiwakwe, her father, is maternal uncle of 23	Initiated for smallpox
30. Tsayanahtitsa..	Unknown. Known as wife of Tsaiyaisi	Coyote	Sister of 33	
31. Unknown.....	Unknown. Known as mother of Luis Chaves	Turkey	Mother of 14 and 28	
32. Unknown.....	Unknown. Known as wife of Nashipu	<i>Pikchikwe</i>		
33. Unknown.....	Unknown. Known as wife of Andreas	Coyote	Sister of 30	
34. Unknown.....	Mari Innote	<i>Pikchikwe</i>	Daughter of sister of 6	Initiated for sickness
35. Unknown.....	Susie Monte	Tobacco	Daughter of sister of 2	Initiated for sickness
36. Unknown.....	Known as mother of Tihsilu	Corn	Sister of 4, aunt by marriage of 5	
37. Tsa'ayutitsa....	Tsa'ayutitsa	Crane	Mother of 38	
38. Unknown.....	Unknown. Known as daughter of Tsa'ayutitsa	Crane	Daughter of 37	
39. Unknown.....	Unknown. Known as wife of Lahela	Turkey	Mother of 19	
40. Unknown.....	Unknown. Known as wife of Kanawihiti	<i>Pikchikwe</i>		
41. Unknown.....	Unknown. Known as wife of O'-nats'ana (Little Teeth)	Corn	Sister-in-law of 5, husband of her sister	There appears to be a mistake here in the record. 41 might be inferred to be the daughter of 4, but she cannot be because she belongs to the same clan. Presumably the relationship of 41 to the wife of 5 is cousinship

Fraternity Name	Personal Name	Clan	Kin	Notes
42. Unknown.....	Unknown. Known as mother of Lolate	Eagle	Elder sister of 43	Likewise member of <i>make lanna</i> (Big Firebrand) fraternity <sup>1</sup>
43. Yuyihi'maka ...	Ts'apitsehe	Eagle	Younger brother of 42	
44. Unknown.....	Unknown. Known as wife of Tsuyuski	Turkey	Daughter of 7	Initiated be- cause of sick- ness in child- birth
45. Unknown.....	Unknown. Known as wife of Sensi	Eagle	Daughter of sis- ter of 12	Initiated for smallpox
46. Tsailusi.....	Unknown. Known as wife of Italuhsi	<i>Pikchikwe</i>	Mother of 13	
47. Kawihtiwa ....	We'ti	Sun		
48. Unknown.....	Unknown. Known as grandson of Kwan- peleya	Badger	Grandson of 17	Initiated for sickness

Of the 48 members of the fraternity the clan affiliations are:

<i>Pikchikwe</i> <sup>2</sup> .....	13
Eagle.....	7
Turkey.....	7
Sun.....	4
Corn.....	4
Crane.....	4
Coyote.....	3
Badger.....	3
Tobacco.....	2
Frog.....	1
	<u>48</u>

Family groups are represented by:

2, 35	13, 46	21, 24
3, 10, 11, 23, 29	14, 28, 31	22, 25
4, 5, 36, 41	15, 26	30, 33
6, 34	16, 20	37, 38
7, 44	17, 48	42, 43
12, 45	19, 39	

<sup>1</sup> Mentioned incidentally. Membership in other fraternities had not been inquired into. Many persons belong to two fraternities or even more.

<sup>2</sup> The largest by far of the clans.

More specifically the kinship relations represented are:

Mother and child.....	5
Father and child.....	4
Maternal uncle and nephew or niece.....	4
Sister and brother.....	3
Brother and brother or half-brother.....	2
Sister and sister.....	1
Cousins.....	1
Grandfather and grandson.....	1

Of relations by marriage there are 5. Of these 4 are found or might be found within the same household and 1 is inferably between members of different households.

Of kinship relations 15 are within the clan and 6, without the clan. Clan members are distributed according to kinship ties:

	KIN	NOT KIN
<i>Pikchikwe</i> .....	6	7
Eagle.....	4	3
Turkey.....	5	2
Sun.....	1	3
Corn.....	2	3
Coyote.....	2	1
Badger.....	3	—
Crane.....	2	1
Tobacco.....	2	—
Frog.....	—	1

In taking the *shi'wanakwe* census, data were also secured which contribute to our knowledge of the *shi'wanakwe* organization and in a measure to that of the Zúñi fraternity in general.

The Rocky Mountain beeplant and the meat of the jack-rabbit are taboo to the *shi'wanakwe*. The same taboos fall upon the *shikani* (*kurena*) fraternity or society of Laguna<sup>1</sup> and of Cochiti.<sup>2</sup> The *shi'wanakwe* have a traditional connection with the *ne'wekwe* just as the *shikani* or *quirana* have with the *kashare*,<sup>3</sup> the Keresan counterpart of the *ne'wekwe*. *shi'wanakwe* and *ne'wekwe* are said to have separated during "the coming

<sup>1</sup> E. C. Parsons, "Notes on the Ceremonialism of Laguna," *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History*, vol. xix, pt. III, New York, 1919.

<sup>2</sup> Father Noël Dumarest, "Notes on Cochiti," *Memoirs, American Anthropological Association*, vol. VI, no. 3, 1919.

<sup>3</sup> At Laguna the *kashare* are said to have got their rules from the *shikani*.

The *kashare* come from the east where the Sun lives. They themselves live under a lake where there is a whirlpool. The rings around their eyes and mouth represent the whirlpool.

up," and there is a specific myth of *shi'wanakwe* producing the first *ne'wekwe*.<sup>1</sup> A certain *shi'wanakwe* member is commonly referred to as *ne'wekwe an cha'le*, the child of the *ne'wekwe*, and at times he "plays" with them. But whenever the *nemosona* cannot get enough *ne'wekwe* to play, he may invite any *shi'wanakwe* to play. Afterwards the head of the coöperating *shi'wanakwe* might be washed in a *ne'wekwe* household, but "they would not name him" *i. e.*, initiate him into the *ne'wekwe*. Both the *shi'wanakwe*<sup>2</sup> and the *shikani* appear to have a claim upon the use of the cosmic symbols, although this use is so general that any special adoption is dubious. The two groups also have a claim upon the use of the sparrow-hawk feathers or, perhaps one should say, this feather is associated with them. The *shi'wanakwe* wear two sparrow-hawk feathers in their hair in place of the eagle feather worn by other fraternities, and to the masks of the *shikani* (*quirana*) of Cochiti sparrow-hawk feathers were attached. In Laguna the *shikani cheani* shared with the *chakwena* impersonations the right to the sparrow-hawk feather.

The *shikani*, like other Keresan societies, have both curing and rain-making functions, and at Cochiti, as well as at Laguna, the society was split into curing and rainmaking divisions, the *quirana* (*kurena*) were rainmakers only. Moreover, at Cochiti, a woman was attached to the group and called *shiwanna* (storm, *i. e.*, rain)<sup>3</sup> *chaiani*, performed a special rainmaking rite with suds and had charge of a special fetich.<sup>4</sup> In pursuing the equation between the Keresan *shikani* and the Zuñi *shi'wanakwe* we note with interest that there is a tradition at Zuñi that the *shi'wanakwe* were formerly rainmakers, *i. e.*, *ashiwanni*. On one occasion they caused so much rain that the people got angry and they gave up being *ashiwanni*.<sup>5</sup> The monthly prayer-stick offering of the *shi'wanakwe*, unlike that of the other fraternities, contains feathersticks to the dead, *i. e.*, the rainmakers.

In reflecting upon these facts which suggest that the *shi'wanakwe* was once, like the *shuma'kwe*,<sup>6</sup> an undifferentiated type of society with

<sup>1</sup> See M. C. Stevenson, "The Zuñi Indians," p. 428. *Twenty-third Annual Report, Bureau American Ethnology*, 1901-02.

<sup>2</sup> E. C. Parsons, "Notes on Zuñi," Pt. II, pp. 229-30, *Memoirs, American Anthropological Association*, vol. IV, no. 4, 1917.

<sup>3</sup> The masked rainmakers at Cochiti are or were also called *shiwanna*.

<sup>4</sup> A like functionary attached to the *ishteani* or Flint society.

Stevenson mentions an old woman custodian of the *shiwannakwe* fetich. (The Zuñi Indians," p. 429.)

<sup>5</sup> Cp. too, "The Zuñi Indians," p. 429.

<sup>6</sup> The officers of the *shuma'kwe* are *ashiwanni* and the fraternity conducts rain

both curing and rainmaking functions and organization, we should recall another Zuni tradition, the tradition that the *shi'wanakwe* is the oldest of the Zuni fraternities.

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#### POLYNESIAN TOMBS: A CORRECTION

IN a note published in this journal (vol. xx, no. 4, p. 456) I proposed to amend in some particulars Dr. Rivers' conclusions on "Sun-Cults and Megaliths in Oceania" (vol. xvii. (1915) p. 443). Unfortunately I was on service abroad and having only jotted notes to work upon it was impossible to correct any oversight that might get in. Dr. Rivers points out to me that on p. 460 I have overlooked the strong evidence he brought forward proving the connection between the *areoi* and sun-worship, that it was not a mere inference of his, but a fact vouched for by Maerenhout. This gives the *areoi* a very different aspect from that which I suggested. I must apologize for this oversight; having only extracts to work on I looked to Dr. Rivers' criticisms to prevent any inaccuracy from getting into print; but unfortunately they were attracted by other matter and so missed this unfair statement of his own case.

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#### COCA AND BETEL CHEWING: A QUERY

IN his work *The American Indian* (p. 30), Dr. Wissler calls attention to the striking coincidence between the method of coca-chewing, as it prevails along the west coast of South America, and the betel-nut consumption in southeastern Asia and Melanesia, in that both narcotics are taken together with pulverized shells or ashes. The analogy is so manifest and complete that the assumption of an historical connection becomes inevitable. The question arises, however, whether the American practice is pre-Columbian or merely the result of circumstances growing out during the period of the *Conquista*. Being engaged for years on the collection of materials for a history of the cultivated plants of this continent, I recently had occasion to read a book by Max Steffen, entitled *Die Landwirtschaft bei den altamerikanischen Kulturvölkern* ceremonials. In Keresan *shuma* means the dead, the skeleton. The *shumzekoli* masks of both Laguna and Sia were passed over to the Zuni, but the Zuni fraternity antedated these gifts. Belonging apparently to the same complex of concepts as the *shi'wanakwe*, the *shuma'kwe* may have been at Zuni a later institution.